## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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P R 230555 Z JUN 73 FM AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4690 INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK AMEMBASSY SAIGON USDEL JEC PARIS

SECRET VIENTIANE 4578

**EXDIS** 

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINT, MOPS, PFOR, LA

SUBJECT: LAO PROTOCOL NEGOTIATIONS: IMPASSE IN NEGOTIATIONS OVER STATIONING OF LPF BATTALIONS ON OUTSKIRTS OF

VIENTIANE AND LUANG PRABANG

REF: VIENTIANE 4515

BEGIN SUMMARY: RLG'S REFUSAL TO ACCEPT LPF DEMANDS TO STATION PATHET LAO BATTALIONS OUTSIDE VIENTIANE AND LUANG PRABANG TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR THE LPF MINISTERS AFTER PGNU FORMED HAS CAUSED IMPASSE IN NEGOTIATIONS. PHOUMI HAS THREATENED TO RETURN TO SAM NEUA UNLESS RLG ACCEDES TO LPF DEMAND. END SUMMARY.

1. PHENG PHONGSAVAN EVENING JUNE 22 GAVE ME FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF RECENT EVENTS: SOUVANNA MET WITH LAO ARMY GENERAL STAFF AND KEY REGIONAL COMMANDERS ON 21 JUNE REGARDING THEIR OBJECTIONS TO STATIONING OF PATHET LAO TROOPS NEAR VIENTIANE AND LUANG PRABANG. AFTER HEARING STRONG OBJECTIONS TO THE PATHET LAO PROPOSAL BY ALL BUT TWO GENERALS, SOUVANNA AGREED THAT HE WOULD REJECT THE COMMUNIST DEMAND.

MEETING WAS BUSINESSLIKE AND LESS OF A CONTRONTATION THAN JUNE 20 CABINET MEETING.

2. FAR GENERALS POINTED OUT THAT ACQUIESCING IN STATIONING OF LPF BATTALIONS IN LUANG PRABANG AND VIENTIANE WOULD BE MAJOR PSYCHOLOGI-

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CAL DEFEAT FOR RLG. IN THE EYES OF THE PUBLIC, IT WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS LPF CONQUEST OF CAPITALS, SOMETHING LPF DID NOT ACHIEVE AFTER 20 YEARS OF WAR. IF SECURITY FOR LPF MINISTERS WAS OBJECTIVE OF LPF DEMAND, THEN LPF SHOULD TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION SERIOUS RLG OFFERS SUCH AS:

- A. LARGE ICC FORCE MADE UP PRIMARILY OF INDIANS;
- B. LARGE JOINT POLICE FORCE IN TWO CITIES AND INCREASING THE SIZE OF THE LPF DETACHMENT GUARDING LPF COMPOUND:
- C. STATIONING OF NEUTRALIST FORCES NAMED BY BOTH SIDES NEAR TWO CITIES.
- 3. ON JUNE 22 PHENG PHONGSAVAN INFORMED PHOUMI VONGVICHIT OF PRIMIN'S DECISION NOT TO ACCEDE TO LPF DEMAND TO STATION LPF TROOPS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE TWO CITIES. PHOUMI ALLEGEDLY REPLIED THAT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES NEGOTIATIONS ARE AT AN IMPASSE AND THERE WAS NO

FURTHER NEED FOR HIM TO REMAIN IN VIENTIANE. PHENG SUGGESTED THAT HE SEE PRIMIN ON JUNE 23 AND PHOUMI HAS APPOINTMENT THIS MORNING WITH SOUVANNA.

4. PHENG WAS VERY DEPRESSED BY PHOUMI'S INTRANSIGENCE, ACCUSING HIM.

IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH ME, OF REFUSING TO COMPROMISE ON KEY ISSUES AND MERELY PRESENTING THE RLG WITH ONE ULTIMATUM AFTER ANOTHER. PHENG SAID THAT AT JUNE 22 MEETING, AT WHICH HE INFORMED PHOUMI OF RLG'S STANCE RE LPF DEMAND FOR STATIONING TROOPS, HE ALSO SOUNDED OUT PHOUMI ON OTHER MILITARY SUBJECTS. ON EACH ONE OF THEM, SUCH AS NUMBER AND POSITIONS OF DEMARKATION STAKES, ROLE OF ICC, DELINEATION OF AREA UNDER CONTROL OF RESPECTIVE ADMINISTRATIONS, ETC., PHOUMI INSISTED THAT HIS VERSION WAS THE ONLY "CORRECT POSITION" AND THAT RLG HAD TO ACCEPT IT. THROWING UP HIS HANDS INTO THE AIR, PHENG SAID TO ME THAT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES NEGOTIATIONS ARE A SHAM.

5. PHENG TOLD ME THAT HE WILL INFORM HEADS OF THE RLG MILITARY AND POLITICAL SUBCOMMISSIONS TODAY OF STATUS OF HIS TALKS WITH PHOUMI (I. E. GENERAL BOUNTHIENG AND NGON SANANIKONE). PHENG STRESSED TO

AGAIN WILLINGNESS OF RLG TO ENTERTAIN COMPROMISES BUT THAT LPF MUST ALSO BE WILLING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IF NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO SUCCEED.

6. WHEN I SAW FRENCH AMBASSADOR LAST NIGHT HE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD SEEN

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SOUVANNA AFTER HIS MEETING WITH LAO GENERALS. FRENCH AMBASSADOR

SAID

THJ SOUVANNA WAS EXTREMELY DISCOURAGED BY IMPASSE. AMBASSADOR CARDI

THOUGHT THAT SOUVANNA'S PRESENTATION MAY BE PURPOSELY GLOOMY SO THAT

FRENCH WILL RAISE WITH SOVIET SECRETARY GENERAL BREZHNEV NEXT WEEK IN PARIS LPF'S INTRANSIGENCE IN HOPE THAT RUSSIANS CAN INFLUENCE SAM NEUA TO BE MORE ACCOMMODATING. HE IS RECOMMENDING THAT POMPIDOU

MAY WISH TO CONSIDER SUCH ACTION.

7. COMMENT: I CONSIDER RLG DECISION TO STAND UP TO LPF ON THE DEMAND FOR STATIONING OF TROOPS OUTSIDE VIENTIAND AND LUANG PRABANG TO BE GENERALLY A SALUTARY DEVELOPMENT. IF THE LAO NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO PRODUCE A DURABLE DOCUMENT WITH WHICH BOTH THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT CAN

LIVE, THEN BOTH THE RLG AND THE LPF MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. SO FAR, PHOUMI HAS BEEN ACTING AS IF HE CAN "DICTATE" THE PROTOCOL. IF RLG GIVES IN WITHOUT A FIGHT ON THE STATIONING OF LPF TROOPS, PHOUMI WILL ADOPT SIMILAR PRESSURE TACTICS OF ISSUING ULTIMATUMS ON OTHER POINTS. I ADVISED PHENG TO IDENTIFY THE KEY ISSUES ON WHICH HE AND PHOUMI CANNOT AGREE NOW, AND THEN LATER HAVE SOUVANNA

OFFER AN OVERALL COMPROMISE, GIVING IN ON SOME ISSUES BUT FORCING LPF TO CONCEDE ON OTHERS. PHENG TOLD ME THAT BOTH HE AND SOUVANNA FEAR THAT IF LAO NEGOTIATIONS FAIL, NVA AND LPF WOULD RESUME FULL-SCALE FIGHTING. RECENT SENATE ACTIONS AND TESTIMONY IN WASHINGTON ABOUT U. S. AIR SUPPORT FOR LAOS MAKE BOMBING A LESS CREDIBLE THREAT, PHENG SAID. THEREFORE, PHENG THINKS RLG'S BARGAINING POSITION IS WEAK. SPEAKING STRICTLY FOR MYSELF, I EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT NVA WOULD

MOBILIZE ITS WAR MACHINE IN LAOS AGAINST RLG AGAIN AND PROCEED CONTRARY TO PARIS COMMUNIQUE SPIRIT JUST BECAUSE RLG DOES NOT ACCEDE TO

EVERY LPF NEGOTIATING DEMAND. I THEREFORE THOUGHT THAT PHOUMI'S TACTICS MAY INCLUDE A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF BLUFF.

8. IF THERE IS ANYTHING DEPARTMENT WANTS ME TO CONVEY TO SOUVANNA

STATUS OR TACTICS OF NEGOTIATIONS, I HAVE APPOINTMENT WITH HIM MORNING OF JUNE 25.

DEAN

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
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<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

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SS INFO BANGKOK

JEC PARIS SAIGON

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